III. SOCIAL LIFE

Social Units

The units with which Rąmkõ'kamekra individuals may be affiliated are manifold. They include (a) the individual family; (b) the matrilineal extended family; (c) matrilineal exogamous moieties; (d) nonexogamous rainy season moieties; (e) the plaza groups; (f) the plaza moieties; (g) the age classes; (h) the age-class moieties; (i) six men's societies.

Of these, the first four embrace both sexes, the remainder only men except that most of the primarily masculine organizations have each two girl associates. Membership in the matrilineal extended family and the exogamous moieties is hereditary; in the rainy season moieties, the plaza groups, and the plaza moieties it is hereditary in the sense that it hinges on the bearing of certain names transmitted from an older kinsman. An age class is constituted by joint initiation into adult status. Admission into the Clown society depends on one's talent for buffoonery; into the other societies a male enters by virtue of his names, which determine affiliation of an individual with two of the five organizations.

To the social bonds listed above may be added those involving formalized friendship; these, too, are largely connected with name transference.

Finally, there is an honorific order of hąmrén, which includes both sexes.

Since membership in a number of the units listed above depends on personal names, it seems well to premise some data on their acquisition and their relationship with the units in question.

Names

Every masculine or feminine name belongs to one of the rainy season moieties—ką'makra and atų'kmakra. Every masculine name belongs to one of the six plaza groups, Giant Snake, Bat, Carrion Vulture (eastern) and Armadillo, Dwarf Parrot, Alien Tribe (western); only two members of the female sex, the pepyé associates, belong to a plaza group, invariably to the Bats and the Dwarf Parrots. Every masculine name involves affiliation with two festive societies—either the Falcons and Jaguars (or the kõkrį't), or the Ducks and Agoutis; the girl associates of these organizations serve only for one ceremonial period.

Of the ten name sets none coincides with any other. The principle for their composition is not clear. Membership in the Clowns' organization and the tąmhą'k is independent of names borne.

A number of masculine as well as feminine names are paired, establishing a formalized friendship, which, however, may be achieved in other ways.

Every individual, irrespective of sex, successively acquires from two to eight names. As a rule, the entire set borne by an individual is linked with a single one of the units mentioned above. In exceptional instances an individual receives a name that determines a change in one or more of the unit types.

The following is a noteworthy case. Hiino and his maternal uncle Yua (=Hiino) used to belong to the Bats (eastern plaza group), the atų'kmakra (rainy season moiety), and the Falcon-kõkrį't pair of societies. At the time of Hiino's pepyé initiation, it devolved on his plaza group to erect for him a hut for seclusion, its yard, and a latrine, but its members limited their efforts to building the hut. This so angered Yua that he left his eastern plaza group and joined the Armadillos (western). Henceforth the names Yua and Hiino no longer belong to the Bat, but to the Armadillo series. However, both men retained membership in the atų'kmakra and the Falcon-kõkrį't organizations.

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846 washed, but not painted. Now her husband joins her in the partitioned space, which neither parent leaves except for necessity until the navel string drops off. In less rigorous form the seclusion lasts for over a month after that—the Indians said, for two months altogether. However, in one case I determined the period by actual count as only forty-two days. Until the dropping of the navel cord the mother wears a burity cord reddened with urucú around her hips—possibly a reminiscence of the band worn by lying-in Apinayé women, who thereby try to avert the enervation of the abdominal wall.

846 852 The navel string that has dropped off is wrapped with cotton thread and stored by the mother in the gourd (p. 52; also pl. 14, *m*) containing urucú seeds for body paint. At about the age of four the child receives this package from his mother and deposits his navel cord in the hole of some sucupira tree on the steppe: thereby he will grow as tough as the sucupira itself.

846 Like all other persons in seclusion, the parents must not paint or decorate themselves, neither cut their hair nor scratch themselves with their fingers, substituting for the last purpose special little sticks. During the entire period they are limited to vegetable fare, maize—today rice also—being considered most fitting, as well as manioc flat cakes for the mother. Other forms of manioc are forbidden, as are gourds. In eating sweet potatoes the couple must not throw away the skins, but collect them in a basket and carry them behind the house. The father must not execute any hard work or otherwise exert himself in any fashion.

848 846 If a woman, whether single or ceremonially wedded, has had extramarital sex relations with one or more men during pregnancy, she ruthlessly names them all immediately after her delivery, when her husband retires with her behind the mat enclosure. This confession is in the child's interest, for these men must all go into retreat; no Indian, whether a bachelor or married man, would ever dare deny his copaternity, as it were, and shirk seclusion, which customarily takes place in his mother's home. When a wanton named Muruwá gave birth to her first child, four men were obliged to go into retirement, though judging from the comments passed this seemed "a bit thick" even to the natives. Otherwise no one is ashamed of copaternity, and several times when the parents of a person were under discussion some Indian would thrust himself forward unbidden, declaring, "I too, am his father!" As explained (p. 78), the relationships resulting from copaternity are assessed precisely like those due to legitimate paternity in our sense.

END OF SECLUSION

851 551 In the case of a girl baby, whose name would be derived from a patrilineal kinswoman, a patrilineal relative goes deer hunting; for a boy baby, who gets his name in the matrilineal line, a matrilineal kinsman must assume this duty.

851 846 When Patkwę'i gave birth for the first time, she had mentioned a man besides her husband as having to go into seclusion. When this period was over, her maternal uncle asked her husband to secure the game required. He killed a steppe deer, which was prepared in Patkwę'i's maternal home so as to furnish three meat pies. In the afternoon the rópkama, his age class, assembled at their plaza station while Patkwę'i was being washed behind her home, had her hair cut, and was decorated with urucú. Thus she went directly across the plaza to the house of her lover and with the words "Apukwųr ne!" invited him to fetch his share. He straightway betook himself to her matrilineal dwelling, where he received a slice of meat pie, which he took to his mother. In the meantime Patkwę'i went from door to door round the boulevard—a formal presentation undertaken after any serious illness. There-

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851 upon the age class trotted toward Patkwę'i's house, humming "like humming
846 birds," and there a whole meat pie was distributed among them. Meanwhile Patkwę'i's husband had also abandoned the partitioned space of seclusion, put on his earplugs once more, and had himself painted with urucú. When the rópkamra still humming as before, ran back, one of the oldest Indians came to meet them dancing, howling like a steppe fox, and bashfully slinking from one side to another. As a steppe fox always visits an abandoned camp site in search of food remnants, so the old man was looking for the residue at Patkwę'i's house.

A ceremony of such complexity, however, takes place only when the first child is born. On the same day another woman, who had already given birth to a number of children, was discharged from her retreat. All she did was to send a meat pie via her brother to the council assembled in the plaza.

851 When Kapẽrtụk's wife had been delivered of a little girl, his sister, Mĩkwę'i,
[551] took her in her arms and carried her to the aunt's matrilineal home, thereby indicating that she would transfer her names to the infant. Then Kapẽrtụk's and
846 Mĩkwę'i's maternal uncle went to hunt a deer, which he turned over to his niece. The meat she prepared was partaken of by all the inmates of the matrilineal home of Kapẽrtụk's wife, except herself and her husband. Unprepared slices of this game must not be distributed in other dwellings lest the hunter lose his luck, growing lazy and sleepy (čukaká). For the same reason he must not throw his booty on the floor when he gets home, but must deposit it with caution.

[825] After his seclusion an infant's father goes on a hunting trip in order to kill an anteater of the smaller species (*Myrmecophaga tetradactyla*), which is said to "rear its children like a human being" by carrying them around on its back.

852 As soon as the child has its change of hair, the furrow is cut round its head.
604 Not until the close of seclusion does the mother indulge in domestic chores, and even then only in part because during the first months she hardly lets go of her infant. In leaving the house she turns it over to her own mother or another female housemate. A little girl is likely to spend considerable time at a paternal aunt's—even if she should not be the one from whom she acquires her names. This bond between little girls and their paternal aunts often is of great intimacy, being even more striking than the corresponding tie between a boy and his maternal uncle, which manifests itself later and especially in ceremonial. This uncle certainly pays no attention to a nursling's care.

853 So long as the mother maintains continence, the child is supposed to grow apace.
856 For this reason many women abstain from marital congress for months, allowing the hair around their temples to grow, but immediately clipping it after the first postnatal cohabitation. This obligatory continence is by no means to every husband's taste, and a fantastic tale of suicide—relegated, it is true, to the days of long ago—is told. On the plea that their child was still too small a woman denied
[762] her husband access for many months. He had himself, as well as the nephew to whom he had transferred his names, decorated and took the boy into the steppe. There he pretended to hunt falcons, kindled a fire around himself and the boy, causing both to perish.

INFANCY

853 The nursing period lasts about two years. The mother gives suck as often as the child desires it, kinswomen being glad to help so far as they are able. The mother teaches her child to eat cooked food by chewing it and then placing it in the infant's mouth.

854 As soon as the child is able to sit, the mother carries it straddling her left hip

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while holding it with her left arm (pl. 22, *a*). Among the Rąmkõ'kamekra I have never seen carrying bands used, yet they probably were formerly in vogue, for Ribeiro expressly states: "Carregam ellas os sues filhos menores ás costas, pendurados en tipoias ou tiras largas feitas de palha de burity."[100] That is, they followed the present custom of the Šerénte and Kayapó instead of the Apinayé custom of wearing girdles.[101] Pohl describes the carrying bands of the Põrekamekra: "In order to carry their children, who are nursed until their fifth year, in comfort, the women use shoulder-bands two inches in width [i.e., strikingly narrow!], which are plaited of palm leaves, and on the chest as well as the back there are suspended some twenty cords with the above-mentioned bead-like seeds [*Scleria flagellum*]. Into this band the child is set so that its feet clasp the mother's body." The same carrying band he notes among the Krahõ': "I obtained one of the above-mentioned children's carrying-bands, such as I found here too in use by all the women."[102]

I, too, have seen carrying bands among the Krĩkatí and Pụkóbye, but they were plaited of cotton, not palm grass, and were in part provided with ornaments in relief. The Rąmkõ'kamekra and Apą'nyekra also have such cotton sashes (pl. 11, *a*, *b*), but today at least they serve only as ceremonial decoration of the precentresses. Here the plaitwork is always plain, with huge cotton tassels depending from the cords of *Scleria* beads. The mode of manufacture varies. Either the band is manufactured in the plaiting frame with only a number of little sticks inserted between the warp strands; or the maker slings a cipó hoop round her knees (pl. 6, *a-c*). Concerning a similar specimen seen among the Kre'pụ'mkateye I do not know whether it served as a carrying band or as a ceremonial decoration. The Krĩkatí, Pụkóbye, and Kre'pụ'mkateye substitute deer hoofs for the *Scleria* cords.

From the Suyá, Von den Steinen obtained a quite similar children's carrying girdle of cotton, about 7 cm. wide and plaited all over with lozenge designs, but it had only two loosely encircling corded rings instead of the pendants.

The Krĩkatí and the Pụkóbye also have some wide cotton carrying slings in two-strand twining technique (Doppelfadengeflecht), which, like the cotton hammocks of the same make, are all traded in from the neighboring Guajajára.

Among the Rąmkõ'kamekra it is exclusively the mother's business—or occasionally that of kinswomen relieving her—to tend the infants. A man will indeed play with his child and lay it beside him on his platform bed in the daytime, but if it gets soiled he almost always calls the mother to do the cleaning.

All the women and girls I knew were without exception glad to devote themselves to children. As soon as a little one begins to stand erect, the women attempt to teach it rhythmic dance movements to accompany their singing, and it is very droll to see the infants commence dancing after a fashion as soon as their mothers stand them upright and strike up a tune.

NAMES

The principle of name transmission and its connection with social units have already been described (p. 77 ff.).

[100] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 12.

[101] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 105, 106.

[102] Pohl, Reise, 2:193, 215. "Um ihre Kinder, welche bis zum fünften Jahr gesäugt werden, bequem tragen zu können bedienen sich die Weiber zu diesem Zweck bestimmter Achselbänder. Selbe sind zwei Zoll breit, aus Palmblättern geflochten und an der Brustseite wie auf dem Rücken hängen bei 20 Schnüre mit den obenerwähnten perlenartigen Samenkörnern. In diese Binde wird das Kind gesetzt, so zwar, daß deßen Füße den Leib der Mutter umschlingen.... Auch eines der obenerwähnten Kindertragbänder, welche ich hier ebenfalls bey allen Weibern sah, brachte ich an mich..."

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A child usually does not get its first name until several months after birth; I have seen children about a year old who were still nameless.

The significance of the names varies considerably and has nothing to do with the bearer's individuality since they are inherited. Except for Ka'tą'm, which may be applied to either sex, the masculine and the feminine names are distinct. Many girls' names terminate in the feminine suffix -kwę'i. The following may serve as samples:

Masculine	Feminine
Kačêkum, Star haze	Kačêkwę'i, Star girl
Čêpką, Bat skin	Pųtkwêi, Sun girl
Ropką, Jaguar skin	Pųrãkwêi, Girl of the urucú blossom
Kapêrtųk, Black bacaba	Kõredn, Spilled water
Čątú, Fox belly	Teprã, Small fish (species)
Tepyet, Hanging fish	Pačêdn, Pretty arm
Kukrãčą', Bees' nest	Kukrãyet, Hanging bees
Pądnhi, Arara bone	Te'hõk, Painted lower leg
Kenkum, Mountain fog	Kentapí, Road up a mountain
Kentetet, White mountain	Mîkwę'i, Crocodile girl
Čąrčą, Place for broiling	Kahê'rkwę'i, Ground-nut girl
Hąktokót, Falcon (species)	Krãpey, Beautiful head

The last syllable serves as a pet name, for example, Kõ for Kõkaipó; Ken for Kentapí; Pądn for Pądnhi.

The name transfer always takes place in the plaza before sunrise, at the close of the morning dance. The ceremony does not arouse much excitement, but at this hour there are always many people present, especially the councilors. The donor stands on one side, his hąpín on the other, the recipient (or, if he is a small child, his mother or aunt carrying him) in the middle. A councilor or chief steps in front of this group, turning his back to them and leaning on his club; then, while rocking from one foot to the other he calls out the name.

I acquired the name Kõkaipó as follows: The chief Major Delphino Kõkaipó had died while traveling a number of years ago before he had been able to transfer his name, so that it became extinct. This was generally regretted, especially because of the last bearer's popularity. Some time after my arrival, the councilors decided to adopt me into the community as the first non-Indian and availed themselves of this exceptional case to revive the name.

Immediately after the morning dance, chief Kukrãčą' summoned the entire village to the plaza, where the council first held a short conference concerning the affair. Then Kukrãčą', the deceased Kõkaipó's junior brother, took up a position on my right, and Čątú, the dead man's special hąpín, on my left. Chief Hąktokót stood in front of us and all faced west, that is, in the direction of the village half belonging to the complementary exogamous moiety. Leaning on his long burity staff Hąktokót delivered a loud and passionate address, which at that time I was unable to follow, and announced the name. The audience responded with loud shouting and a blast of trumpets.

After the ceremony my deceased namesake's three sisters came up to tell me how glad they were over the revival of the name and my now being their brother. One of them introduced her little son, who at once merrily addressed me as "kedti" (maternal uncle) and to whom I was expected at some future time to convey the name, as I actually did some years later.

Strangely enough certain objects of importance also receive personal names, for example, ceremonial lances (krowačwa). When in 1935 I presented the tribe with

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552 a new copper roasting pan in place of one that was no longer usable, they regarded it as my daughter, so to speak, and accordingly my sister, Kra'napą'n, transferred her name to it.

551 Nicknames, except for those bestowed by Neobrazilians and then sometimes used by the natives themselves, are rare and borne mostly by young lads and girls. Thus, one youth was called Pičanre, from Portuguese *pixano* (used to call tomcats) plus the diminutive ending; and the fat little wanton Muruwá was dubbed Tokĩ, from Portuguese *toquinho*, a small tree stump.

[177] All adult Rąmkõ'kamekra have been baptized by Catholic priests, some possibly more than once. They use exclusively these baptismal names in their intercourse with Neobrazilians, but very rarely among themselves—the women never, a considerable number of them having forgotten their Christian names.

No Timbira manifests any reluctance about uttering his name. Refusal to answer Neobrazilian queries on this point is due simply to the feeling that it is none of the interrogator's business or that he could not pronounce the name anyway.

ORPHANS; TREATMENT OF CHILDREN

736 If the mother dies, her child remains with her kinswomen, with whom it has been
855 living since birth, though in contravention of the matrilocal principle a girl is occasionally brought up by her father's sister. The father's death does not materially affect the child's social status either, for the orphans' relatives treat them with as much amiability and benevolence as if they were their own offspring. Thanks to their matrilocal institutions the Rąmkõ'kamekra have no "poor, unfortunate orphans": a stepfather has no power to abuse them in a house that is not his, but theirs; and an "evil stepmother" simply has no close contacts with them.

All the Timbira treat their children with great patience and gentleness, never yelling at them, nor, so far as I have observed, ever beating them. Stubborn little children or those who bawl from sheer caprice—a thing of rare occurrence—are simply ignored by their parents and very soon stop.

PLAY

524 Little girls have relatively many toys. Their dolls are approximately cylindrical
532 pieces of burity leafstalk, rarely of wood; they are of the length of a finger or span. They lack heads, face, and limbs, though female dolls are provided with wax breasts, a corded girdle, and sometimes corded sashes. The male dolls generally lack all decoration, being only rarely equipped with a forehead band and grass girdle. Both sexes are painted black and red or have falcon down glued on them. (See pl. 23, *i–k*.)

415 Practically all the domestic utensils of adults may serve as patterns for toys;
524 one sees tiny gourd bowls and bottles, fire fans, baskets of all sorts, provender pouches, little sleeping mats and hammocks, manioc presses and strainers, carrying baskets, etc. Coiled basketry, which these Indians had completely abandoned as too complicated for practical use, was found exclusively as the technique for toy [123] baskets at the time of my first visit. At my suggestion it was revived for utensils. (See pls. 23, *h, l, m*; 24, *d–f, h, k, l*.)

857 In the bushes back of the dwellings little girls assemble in twos or threes to set up a dolls' household sheltered by little huts made of twigs and mats. Then they beg their mothers to glue falcon down on a doll couple so as to be able to get them married by laying the dolls together on a miniature sleeping mat.

Toys are the property of the child; to obtain them I had to get the child's consent.